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IMPARTIAL THOUGHTS

ON

PARTY

AND

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

By the Rev. WILLIAM BUTLER ^{K.}ODELL.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT,

First Lord of his MAJESTY'S
Treasury, &c. &c. &c.

S I R,

WHEN I was first persuaded to adopt the Resolution of committing the following Pages to the public View, I resolved to lay them at the Feet of public Virtue; and when I reflected on that happy Line of Conduct which you pursue with so much Honour to yourself, and Advantage to your Country; and which casts a Glory round you that bids fair to rival that of your illustrious Father; I knew not to whom I could with so much propriety Address them. To you, the rising Genius of Ireland looks up for Protection;

in the anxious Hope, that the generous Spirit of Patriotism which warms and inspires your Breast, and so nobly signalized itself in the Defence of the chartered Rights of Freedom, will extend its saving Influence to her also.

I have the Honour to be,

with great Respect,

S I R,

your most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

IMPARTIAL THOUGHTS

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P A R T Y

A N D

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THAT inherent Principle in the Mind of Man which prompts him to aspire at Power and Dominion, has been always productive of the best or worst Consequences, according to the Complexion it takes from either Vice or Virtue: This Principle, which is nothing else than Self-love, that grand Spring of the Human Machine! in the former Case, is destitute of the laudable Desire of Power which true Ambition only aims at for the Public Good; it's sole End being the Gratification of sensual Appetites and Pleasures: In the latter Instance, it assumes Virtue's most amiable Form, and the Benevolence of it's Feelings joined to the heartfelt Consciousness of Rectitude affords the most rational and refined Delight the Soul is capable of on this Side Heaven.

AMONGST Individuals, the Difficulty of attaining an elevated Station confines this Ambition within narrow Bounds; but it is no less useful,

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tho' not diffusive; it humanizes the Mind, and gives to Society it's sweetest Charm. In States, this Principle presents to the View a far wider Field; and their Prosperity or Ruin are accelerated in Proportion to it's Exaltation or Perversion: When Men so far forget what they owe to their Country and themselves, that they seek Promotion for the unworthy Purpose of aggrandizing their Fortunes, or gratifying their Vanity; we may safely pronounce that Empire which gives Birth to such Corruption to be on it's Decline: When the Helm of State is regarded but as the Passport to Riches, and Harbinger of depraved Ambition, it can never be guided either with Ease to the sordid Rulers, or Advantage to the People: There will not be wanting Numbers who from various Motives will attack their Crimes, elucidate their Mistakes, and distract their Councils; some with the View of elbowing them out of their Places, and sharing the Loaves and Fishes, though veiled beneath the Mask of prostituted Patriotism. Others, but alas how few! from the pure Impulse of disinterested Probity: Small as the Numbers of those who come under this latter Description, they become smaller still from a Motive which, while it does honour to their Natures, becomes a Misfortune to the Public: Modesty, the graceful Companion of Merit, frequently prevents them from standing forth in that conspicuous Light they are so well qualified to shine in; indignant Virtue recoils with Contempt from the Competition of Vice and unprincipled Ambition. Hence we so seldom see the Affairs of Nations conducted by superior Genius: A Cincinnatus and a Pitt are not the Produce of every Age: Happy the Monarch! endued with Penetration sufficient to enable him to distinguish true Merit, and draw her from the Shade; and who

who (like George the second) permits the Good of his People to triumph over private Pique or Prejudice. And happy the People! whose Genius, unstained by inordinate Thirst of Power, and unruffled by the Clamour of Party, is solely directed to the Advancement of the Public Weal, and every other Consideration lost in the superior Influence of Patriotic Love.

It may not be unpleasing to consider how far these Reflections are applicable to the British Empire; arrived at the highest Pitch of Grandeur it was perhaps possible for it to attain, under the auspicious Genius of the greatest Statesman it ever gave birth to; it acquired a Dominion more extensive than even the Roman World could boast; nor will this be deemed an extravagant Assertion, when we recollect the vast Extent of those Countries which grew beneath her fostering Hand, yielded to her Sway, or whose Commerce either Art or Force subjected to her Will; the latter may be said to be in Effect conquered, for what richer or better Fruit can Victory bestow?

At the Period alluded to, the British Flag carried Astonishment and Terror through every Quarter of the Globe; her Enemies were subdued, her Friends confirmed, and her Trade unlimited; That haughty Pride, which is the usual Concomitant of Power, was indulged and gratified; and none dared to refuse her that Mark of Homage which she extorted on the Seas, and which was paid with Regret: Trifling as it may seem, this tacit Acknowledgment of Superiority, which bespoke her the absolute Sovereign of the Ocean, contributed to disgust the Nations of Europe, who considered it as incompatible with their Independence: That Power, which had baffled and defeated almost the whole Naval World, and was, at the Time, certainly equal to the De-

struction of the Entire, was regarded, even by the most indifferent, with a Degree of Anxiety and dismay; hence in the late War, the most Sanguine saw with Surprise a Confederacy raised against her sufficient to appal the bravest, and ungratefully abetted by those who were naturally her Friends, and most interested in her Safety. The fatal Rupture with America afforded an Opportunity eagerly wished for, and too tempting to be rejected by the humbled Insolence of Bourbon Politics; and the unlucky Error committed in the Peace of 1763, of acquiring the Cession of Canada instead of the most valuable Sugar Islands, by ascertaining the Safety of the Colonies, destroyed their Dependence on the Mother Country: By one of those unforeseen Turns of Fate with which Providence at once humiliates and confounds the Wisdom of Man, the Object of Triumph carried within it the Seeds of Destruction, and France conceded to her Foe what proved the Instrument of her Vengeance. Thus were thirteen valuable and extensive Colonies lost to Great Britain; her Dominion over them expired with Wolfe on the Plains of Quebec.

PERHAPS her Annals never afforded a stronger Instance of National Spirit struggling with Adversity than this War exhibited: Without, attacked by the most formidable Force that ever united for the Destruction of any one Power: Within, torn to Pieces by the most detestable Spirit of Party Rage that ever inflamed the Political Body: Even the Serpent of Treachery preying on her very Vitals, and her Measures no sooner formed than known to the Enemy; yet she defended herself on every Side with astonishing Vigour under these complicated Disadvantages: Even the Loss of some of her West India Islands was rather owing to shameful Neglect,
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than to any Merit the enemy could arrogate to themselves from the Capture: Furnished with a formidable Artillery, and every warlike Apparatus, but destitute of Men to use them, it seemed as if these great Preparations were purposely offered to the Enemy in order to facilitate the Reduction of the Remainder.

INDEED a dispassionate Observer, from a View of the British Government, might be rather surprized its Errors were so few; for how is it possible for any Set of Men, however endued with Genius and Ability, who are continually harrassed by the incessant Clamours of licentious Faction, to conduct the Reins of Government either with Skill or Success. It must be confessed that when Opposition is directed by Public Virtue, and founded on disinterested Principles, it becomes highly useful; the salutary Ferment it raises serves to purge off Political Errors, and restore the Constitution to it's primitive purity; as a slight Fever arising from the Ebullition of a rich Blood, when treated by the lenient Hand of an able Physician, adds fresh Treasure to the Store-houses of Health, and brightens the Springs of Life.—But when Opposition is animated by a malevolent Spirit—when the Flood of Ambition overflows the Bounds of Temper and Reason; and the Public Welfare is regarded but as a secondary Object to Power—when an *artful Demagogue*, under the Sanction of unmerited Popularity, will involve his Country in Confusion; and veiling his dark Designs beneath the insidious Gloom of Sophistical Reasonings, seek to deprive the Sovereign of his just Prerogative, and sport with the Constitution, giving it such an Explanation as is best calculated to further his own mercenary or mistaken Views, such a Man is dangerous to his Country in Proportion to the Extent of his Abilities;

lities; and we may safely say that the State, wherein such a Conduct can be countenanced and encouraged, has passed it's Prime, and is far advanced within the Precincts of old Age.

HENCE it appears that the wisest of human Institutions falls far short of Perfection; and that Constitution which is so much the Pride of our's, and the Admiration of other Nations (though I question whether there be any who, at this Moment, envy our Happiness) is still defective: But while we enjoy the Blessings it imparts, we must be content with the Imperfections which cloud it's Beauty: The Application of a Remedy might aggravate the Evils it was intended to cure, and an Experience of their fatal Effects affords the best, though dearly bought. On examining the British Story the Justice of this Reflection appears evident; impelled to the most unjustifiable Extremes by an enthusiastic Spirit of Liberty, excited and fomented by Men as artful as wicked, the English have frequently plunged into Crimes of the most enormous Nature; of this the reign of the unhappy Charles affords a melancholy Instance; who can read of a Nation drenched in mutual Slaughter, and crimsoned with the Blood of their murdered King, without being deeply penetrated with Disgust and Horror? Will Ages wash away the indelible Stain? or can we ever behold the Turbulence of Faction without detesting it's Authors, and recalling to our Memories those dreadful Scenes?

THOUGH there are no People so apt to fall into Error, or more violent during its Paroxysm; yet when their Eyes are cleared from the pernicious Mist of Faction; when that first of Lessons! Experience has taught them the destructive Nature of their obstinate Contentions, it must be allowed that none are more ready to acknowledge their Error,

Error, and make amends for their Misconduct : Had Charles the Second availed himself of this Temper, he might have been absolute; that he did not accomplish a Purpose so flattering to the Ambition of Kings, was said to be owing to the Virtue of an Individual who, by his wise Suggestions, preserved to the People that Constitution of which they had rendered themselves unworthy.

BUT will a Dereliction of their Faults always insure Safety to a People? will they be always able to say? the evil Consequences of our Crimes shall expire with the Errors that gave them Birth; and whoever attempts to break the Spring of our Constitution, however he may for a while relax its Force, yet it will ever resume its native Vigour, and recoil with redoubled Vengeance against the Hand that bends it : To this unimpassioned Reason may answer, when a State is weakened by internal Commotion—when the harmony of its Parts, untuned by Corruption, is yet more disordered by Faction its detestable Child, the elasticity of its Spring may become so enfeebled, as to be unable to throw off the oppressive Load; beneath such, the Roman Empire crumbled in the Dust: Repentance may come too late, for political Error it is always a lame Excuse : It is much better to anticipate an Evil than regret its Consequences : It is not with States as with Individuals, in the Case of the former, mistakes are often irretrievable : The eruptions of Faction, like those of a Volcano, often leave behind a noxious and deadly Vapour which overcasts the bright Morning of Freedom, and poisons her vital Stream.

AND here the Question naturally arises, how are those Evils to be remedied? what is the nature of that Plant which, tho' blooming with the fairest Fruit, watered with the Blood of Heroes, and beneath whose genial Shade the beauteous Flower
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of Liberty flourishes with unrivalled Charms, yet throws out so frequently such odious Excrecences? It may be derived from two Causes, the restless Temper of the People which is stormy as the Ocean that surrounds them; and the Nature of that Liberty which is the Gift of the Constitution, and is certainly one of its most valuable Privileges: Accustomed to think and speak without reserve on the most important Subjects, the Gloom of Discontent, the Avarice of Ambition, and the Fanaticism of Party are all indulged with the most licentious Effrontery: The Dignity of the State is lost and forgotten amidst the Violence of Civil Discord, and is equally exposed to the incautious attack of prejudiced Ignorance, and the more dangerous because guarded Assault of deep veiled Treachery: In the heat occasioned by such malignant Principles, planted in a Soil so luxuriant as a British Senate, Men too frequently transgress those delicate Boundaries which distinguish decent and manly Freedom of Debate from the immodest Disorder of unqualified Opposition: But since the Constitution affords no safe and adequate Remedy for an Evil of such Magnitude, let private Virtue supply the Defect; let the Man, who shall be found to have violated the sacred Name of Patriotism, be treated with that contempt and abhorrence which should ever be the portion of the Wretch who would dare to disturb the quiet of his Country, or seek to infringe its Rights; and let him be held up to the public View as an Object of detestation, and a living Monument of infamy: a punishment of this nature would produce the happiest effects: Shame and Honour, which constitute the most powerful Motives that operate on the human Mind, would prove the strongest tie on the dissolute and licentious Statesman, could they be once annexed to
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official Greatness. The Picture of private Life proves the force of these mighty Stimulants: the abandoned Libertine who sacrifices without Remorse, Conscience, Honesty, and every amiable Feeling on the impious Shrine of Debauchery, is yet tremblingly alive to what the Word dignifies with the name of Honour, and while the industrious and perhaps indigent Tradesman wets his Threshold with the tear of hopeless expectation, he flies to pour out his Treasure in the lap of a successful Gambler, and hesitates not to pay what is called the debt of Honour, even at the expence of certain ruin to himself. If then this Principle can in such instances, tho' debased in the application, so effectually bind the Soul, why should it prove more inefficacious when applied to the general Interest?

In the virtuous Times of the Roman Republick, a Soldier who should lose his Arms, or suffer himself to be taken by the Enemy, was held in such detestation by his fellow Citizens, that he preferred a thousand Deaths to the contemptuous Treatment he was sure to suffer; 'twas this nice Sense of Honour that rendered them invincible in Arms, and planted their victorious Standards on the stubborn Necks of prostrate Nations: And why should it not act as forcibly on a British as a Roman Breast? a contempt of Death in the Paths of Glory, is as familiar to the one, as it was to the other: let then this virtuous Principle be once excited; and like a Stream which encreases in its Course till it becomes a mighty River, it will at length triumph over vicious Habit, and sweep away the filth of Corruption: but till this is done, it will only exist in the speculative Systems of the philosophic Page; lost in the venal Croud, the abandoned Profligate will still hide his execrable Head, disregard the Duty he owes his Country,

and sacrifice its Welfare to his sordid Interest: But never can its safety be ensured or lasting, till National Honour resumes her auspicious Empire, and by the severe lustre of her Countenance banished Faction and Corruption to the Shades of Hell, from whence they sprung: Yet till another Chatham shall arise, who by the irresistible ascendancy of his superior Genius, like a rapid Torrent, will overpower and stifle the ill omened Voice of Dissention, and uniting all Parties by the silken Bands of Patriotic Love, direct their joint Exertions to the advancement of the Publick Prosperity, this will be rather an illusive Object of our Wishes than the Blossom of our Hope; and should this glorious Land of Freedom ever fall, but oh avert it Heaven! she herself must inflict the Wound, for she carries in her Bosom the Asp that will sting her to the Heart.

LET us now turn our Eyes from this melancholy Scene, to one we are yet more immediately interested in, and which affords a brighter Prospect: Divested of every Prejudice, let us judge with Candour, and decide with Impartiality: The generous Warmth of Patriotism may precipitate us into Error; but however beautiful the Fault, its well-meaning should never impress a lasting Value on an ill-directed Impulse: With Minds thus prepared, we shall be better fitted to contemplate the rising Genius of Ireland, and distinguish what may operate to her Advantage, from what may be hurtful to her Welfare.

PERHAPS there never was a more critical Period than the present Posture of Affairs presents to our View: A whole People emerging from the inglorious Slumber of political Slavery, and unconstitutional Controul; and warmly, yet temperately asserting the native Rights of Freedom

dom, presents to the unprejudiced Eye a grand and interesting Scene. The Attention of the admiring World is fixt with Wonder and Astonishment on our island; and the Rank and Character we shall hold in its Opinion will be determined by the Address and Propriety wherewith we conduct our Operations for the Attainment of that honourable End which terminates the Wishes of every generous Lover of his Country. The Point in Question resolves itself into two principal Objects, an intimate and indissoluble Connexion with Great Britain, formed on the Basis of equal Freedom and unsuspecting Friendship; and a perfect Restoration to those Rights and Privileges which result from the Constitution common to both, and whose Advantages no one can pretend to deny our equal Right to share in.

As to the first Object, from the Temper which pervades all Ranks of People in this Kingdom, one would be led to imagine that the disinterested Observer would do us the Justice to acknowledge that Love of Great Britain as well as Love of Freedom (and surely he will not pay our Sister Nation so ill a Compliment as to suppose them incompatible) are the ruling Principles in our Breasts: Certain it is that the late Revolution in America induces her to behold with a jealous Eye every Movement that assumes Freedom for its Banner: Smarting from the recent Wound, she may not, perhaps, be endued with Temper sufficient to distinguish justly between the wild Emotions of licentious Anarchy, and the warm but honest Effusions of a loyal and patriotic Love of Freedom: Yet surely the favoured Sons of Liberty, who know and feel the Value of its inestimable Blessings, so far from envying a Participation of them with their

dearest and most natural Friends and Fellow-subjects, ought to experience that refined Delight which ever attends the generous Distribution of unprejudiced Justice; and, in meeting the Wishes of a whole People who only required what was strictly due to them, feel a Joy as lively as their's, and revere in them the Principle which enobles their own Bosoms. It is our Business to convince them we are actuated by that Principle alone: It is ours to draw the Line which discriminates cool and rational Expectation from the rude Sallies of ungoverned Ambition: It is ours to conduct our Proceedings and Resolutions with that candid unanimity which has been already the Characteristick of our Conventions; and with that guarded Circumspection which should ever form their leading Feature: We should maturely weigh every possible Obstruction, and exclude from our Assemblies whatever might interrupt that Harmony so essential to the Success of our Wishes: Reformation when conducted by Heat, and enflamed by Passion is too apt to degenerate into Anarchy; and the Love of Freedom, though the most generous of all Feelings, in the Fervour of its Career frequently outstrips Reason, and waits not to hear the Call of that gentle Monitor: It should therefore be guided by the most scrupulous Attention to the Forms of the Constitution, otherwise there will not be wanting Men who will seize every Opportunity of exposing the smallest Innovation, and take Occasion to frustrate our Wishes from the Errors committed in the Means of attaining them: Of this we may be convinced from the Asperity with which the Grand National Convention was treated in Parliament, though the heavy Charge of holding out Reformation on the Point of the Bayonet will appear a Paradox to those who consider that
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the Body it represented received the Stamp of Legality from the Thanks of both Houses, and even Arms from that Government to whom it now seems an Object of Jealousy: Candour however will oblige us to acknowledge that the Mode now adopted, of Addresses from the People at large, is certainly the most eligible.

THE principal Points under Contemplation appear to be a more equal Representation of the People; Protecting Duties; an Absentee Tax; and an Abolition of the Stamp Act: That a Person unversed in Topicks of this Nature, should presume to give his Thoughts, argues a certain Degree of Temerity; but this Imputation will be much weakened, when it is considered that they are the Dictates of an honest and well-meaning Breast, and whose Love of Freedom is as warm as that which animates those much more enlightened; but neither Time or Ability permit me to enter into minute Disquisitions; sequestered from those busy Scenes which can alone afford an Inlight to Particulars, it is sufficient to my Purpose to sketch the general Outlines.

THE Plan of Reform held out by the Convention, with all due Deference to that respectable Body be it spoken, however possessed of theoretic Beauty, appears too complicated for Practice: It is a Maxim verified by the Experience of Ages, that the more simple a Form of Government, the less susceptible it is of Error or Confusion, and the longer its Duration; as an Engine composed of a Variety of Wheels and Springs is most liable to Injury; so the great Machine of Government becomes exposed to the Shock of Disorder, in Proportion to the Complication of its Movements; it therefore follows that where a simple Remedy answers the Purpose of Reformation,

mation, compound ones should never be introduced; the proposed Modification of Boroughs is defective on these Principles, and on the very Face of it : It is allowed on all Hands that their Weight operates most powerfully against the Constitution, and that they are truly called its rotten Part; since then they constitute an Evil of such Magnitude, why descend to so mean an Expedient as Composition? Why only lop the Branches of so destructive a Plant, which, like the Machineel, poisons every Thing that approaches its noxious Shade, when the Axe ought to be laid to its Root? If that be suffered to remain, it will in all probability sprout up anew, and re-produce that hateful Fruit which, like that of Milton's infernal Tree, will again fill our Mouths with the bitter Ashes of Corruption : Modify an Evil whatever Way you please, it will be an Evil still; therefore true Reformation can only be accomplished by abolishing them totally : To this may be objected, that the Owners of Boroughs form so strong a Party, that to make their Annihilation the Basis of Reformation would perhaps occasion the Miscarriage of the general Object; and that it is consequently necessary to make some Concessions for the Sake of rendering the Evil less Extensive : But we may answer, if Men be so meanly wedded to this paltry Instrument of unpopular Ambition, they deserve not to enjoy the Advantages of a free Constitution; let them wallow, like the Toad, in their own Poisons, provided the Venom infects not the Community; but since that must be the Consequence, it is neither reasonable nor fair that a few interested Individuals should obstruct the general Good; or that one Man should preserve a Privilege which cannot be exerted without injuring ten Thousand: A few, whose Names
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deserve to be transmitted with Honour to Posterity, have already offered their Boroughs a voluntary Sacrifice on the Altar of Patriotism; ill fares the Land where so bright an Example can fail of producing the proper effect.

THE most eligible mode of Representation is, that which is least liable to undue Influence, and Counties certainly come best under this Description; they are much more likely to return Independent Members, than the narrow and sickly Dimensions of a Borough, arrogated by a Man who considers it his personal Property, and, as is too often the Case, with a shameless Effrontery exposes it to sale at the Market of Venality: To lop the Heads of this Hydra is therefore indispensably Necessary; the weight of Corruption is as its sphere of Exertion; the more diffusive the weaker; like a Stone thrown into Water, it easily forms a troubled Surface in a narrow Compass, but as its Circle widens it grows fainter, until at length it is wholly lost in the Expanse of the People. That a small corporate Town, or unpeopled Borough should return as many Members as a County which contains twelve or fifteen hundred Electors, carries on the face of it something absurd, so unequal a distribution calls for a new arrangement, and if the dictates of true policy are followed that will consist in a total abolition of the former, and an encrease of the Representatives of the latter to a number adequate to the deficiency. But it will be said, that this Method is also liable to inconveniencies; that to answer the purposes mentioned, they must be encreased to the number of six, at least, for each County, and that a combination of Interests between the six most powerful Families in each, would necessarily ensue, and totally absorb and swallow up the rest, and thus Counties, in some measure, degenerate

generate into Boroughs: to this we may also answer, that the History of Nations shews that no human Institution has or ever will be free from error, and all that human Wisdom can do, is to adopt that which is liable to as few as possible: Family Interests are in their Nature fluctuating; nor would it be always easy to link such a number in the Bonds of amity, neither are Men so wedded to slavery, as to behold with indifference an Union so inconsistent with those Principles of Freedom of which they now seem to be strongly enamoured; besides as the abolition of Boroughs ought to be followed by that of 40s. Freeholds, the remaining Electors would be mostly independent, and amongst such a number of free Agents there would not be wanting Men both able and willing on any impropriety of Conduct in their Representatives, to oppose and supplant them: this would be farther ascertained, were the duration of Parliament limited to three years, as proposed by the Convention; it's Members would not then have time to earn the Wages of iniquity, for the duration of their corrupt services would bear no proportion to the magnitude of the rewards they might think themselves entitled to an unequivocal for the loss of popular favour, neither would they on the same account be worth purchasing; besides as they would be so soon obliged to render an account of their conduct to their Constituents, the dread of future rejection, if not of shame, would keep them steady to their Duty.

IF we consider this System more nearly we shall find that it would conduce to the mutual Advantage of all Parties; the Hook of Ambition being deprived of its Bait, would not then attract the Notice of unprincipled Adventurers; and Government would be relieved from the malevolent attacks of groundless Opposition; An uniform
Resistance

Resistance to its Measures is now looked on as the only Road to Preferment; and it is therefore reduced to the humiliating Necessity of purchasing that Tongue whose clamour it cannot otherwise silence; but which, like the Monster Cerberus, only wants the honey'd Sop to sooth it to rest: Temptation being taken away, the views of all Parties would be directed solely to the publick good, for when men can gain nothing by being dishonest, they will be necessarily virtuous: the People would be saved the mortification of so often finding their Confidence ill-placed, and their Hopes disappointed by ungrateful tergiversation: and the Monarch, no longer reduced to the necessity of adopting that Machiavilian maxim Divide et Impera, would reign over the Hearts as well as Persons of his Subjects; he would be no longer obliged to create or distribute useless Places and Pensions in order to satisfy the avarice of those craving Drones who live on the labours of the industrious Bee; and the willing Donatives of his happy People would be appropriated undiminished to the publick Service; Taxes might be consequently lessened, and yet the income of the State augmented; and thus Government become doubly enriched by easing the Burthens of the People: Delightful thought! may that blest Æra come! when the generous emotions of paternal Love on the one side, and the warm overflowings of filial Gratitude on the other, will constitute the only emulation between King and People: When Monarchs will reflect that their own power and greatness depends on that of their Subjects, that it is thence the Throne, which is ever the faithful Mirror of the People's Majesty, receives its brightest lustre; and that Freedom alone is the Parent of Prosperity, the spur to Industry, and the enlivening Genius which prompts Men to great exertions;

ertions: they will then be as solicitous to confer that Blessing, as many of them are to withhold it; and will be at last convinced, that to rule over freemen, instead of slaves, would both augment the Glory of their Reign, and shed the balm of rest over the royal Couch to which it is probably too often a Stranger. Sure I am our gracious Sovereign knows and feels the truth of these sentiments; his Soul adopts them; may its genuine Purpose be no longer frustrated by the insidious arts of designing, or the bellowings of factious Men; and may his Prosperity equal the Goodness of his Heart and the fervent Prayers of one of the humblest of his Subjects, and he will have nothing more to wish for.

BUT to return; as to the Mode of extending the Right of Election, it seems liable to many Objections; the Question is to whom shall it be extended? if to the Baronies and Parishes adjacent to decayed Towns and Boroughs, and to every Protestant in any City, Town, or Borough seized of a 40s. Freehold, according to the Plan suggested by the Convention; this it's to be feared, would prove a very partial Alleviation of the Evil complained of: Our small Freeholders are already more numerous than is compatible with the Good of the Country: Can the generous Mind behold without Indignation a Parcel of 40s. Voters driven to an Election, like Cattle to a Market, in order to give their Voices at the arbitrary Will of the Person under whom they derive the Pittance; or hear without Horror, the frequent Perjuries which the smallness of the Sum permits abandoned Wretches to obtrude with Facility on the Public: Neither the Dependance, Education, or Situation in Life of this Class of Men (I speak in general) qualify them for Electors; and even exclude the former Consideration, the latter do not enable them

them to be true Judges of Parliamentary Merit; and at best, they will be only the Echoes of the Ranks above them: Instead therefore of encreasing their Numbers, I should rather see them excluded by a total abolition of Freeholds of that Nature; when they first constituted a Right of Suffrage, they were widely different from their present acceptation: Those hardy Northerns from whom we are, in part, descended; and from whom we derive our excellent Constitution, were from the Chief to the Private, literally free and independent: Their sentiments were consequently more elevated and noble; and that keen sense of Liberty which burned in their bosoms with a clear and inextinguishable flame beheld with stern impatience every Idea which militated against its Spirit, or hurt the jealous feelings of its sensitive purity: Of this the celebrated Story of the Vase of Soissons affords a strong though ferocious instance. In the division of a Spoil acquired by the Franks, Clovis their renowned King took a fancy to this Vase which happened not to be included in his lot, and on his requiring it, a common soldier present, enraged at what he deemed a presumption though in his Chief, striking at it with his Battle Axe, and breaking it with the force of the Blow, declared he should have nothing but what strictly fell to his share. When that fierce Tribe which invaded Britain settled themselves in the lands they acquired by their Arms, they were parcelled out in proportion to the Station and Merit of each; and though every man was originally entitled to vote in their Wittena Gemote or general Assembly, yet when Individuals, from various causes, began to alienate the lands they held by military tenure, those possessed of them acquired a decided superiority, and the specious and indeed reasonable pretext that no man had a

right to legislate for his Country who was not bound to it by the tie of property and the protection he was to afford in consequence, gave birth to the Law which confined the privilege of Voting to those possessed of not less than a 40s. Freehold, but in those early times that was superior in value to the present 10l. qualification; and if we reason from what we see at present, we may naturally suppose that liberality of sentiment held the same proportion; but as they sunk in those estimations they sunk in Independence, and the deduction is obvious: How then can either Policy or Reason sanctify the wish that aims at enlarging the sphere of Ignorance and Corruption? the ancient Mistress of the Universe often experienced the fatal effects of Plebeian influence, and bled at every vein beneath the lash of Folly and Caprice.

INDEED, was this Right extended to such as are possessed of Lands for a long Term of Years, I see no danger that could arise: They, who enjoy Tenures of that Nature, are generally Independent of their Landlords, and consequently more likely to be good Electors: But Lessees even for thirty-one Years are seldom so; the Landlord has them too often in his power to permit them to shake off his Control, and until he is free from thence, he will always receive his Bias from him, of whatever Complexion it may be; Men will still prefer their private Interest, and what affects them nearly, to every more remote Consideration; and that general Maxim of being enamoured with the present Good will be found to pervade every Stage and Department of Life.

LASTLY, if an extension of this Privilege to our Roman Catholic Brethren be considered, I imagine the minds of Men are not yet prepared for such a Revolution in the old System of Politics; tho' they may expect it, and indeed with
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Reason, yet perhaps it might not be prudent to push the Question at present; when the human Breast acquires a strong Possession of any prejudice, it is very difficult to erase it: Wedded to habitual Opinion, Men often shut their Eyes to conviction, and hug the Error that deceives them: This obstinate Malady of the Mind is therefore best remedied by gradual Approaches; to attempt a sudden Revolution would exasperate, but never convince; and in these instances Aggregate Bodies, like Individuals, tho' they idolize the Child of their own, yet adopt with Reluctance an obtruded Opinion. The next Generation may probably grant our Friends of the Romish Persuasion that Privilege they are denied in this: And that propriety of Conduct, which has been already so properly rewarded by the present Concessions, will, one Day, entitle them to a final Participation of those Rights which as Citizens and Fellow-subjects they ought to share in. The Time will come when a Man will no longer think it of any Consequence whether his Neighbour wears a white Coat or a black one; or what his religious Sentiments (for which he is accountable to God alone) are, provided his Actions be amenable to the Laws; and when to be a good Citizen will form the only DISTINCTION necessary in a State. While the Friend to human Kind beholds, with exalted joy, the rapid decay of those bigotted and inhuman Prejudices which so long obscured the Religion of Christ, he will regret each Moment that retards its final Extinction, and look forward with benevolent Anxiety to that happy Season, when the divine Influence of universal Charity shall pervade the Nations, and shed a double Day over the Christian World. May bounteous Heaven accelerate the glorious Period! and bless it with that undistinguishing spirit of Benevolence which
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beholds Mankind as one Family, and regards in them the Image of its own Virtue.

To conclude these Observations, I thus arrange my Ideas of Parliamentary Reform :

1st A Disfranchisement of Boroughs.

2dly An encrease of the Number of County Representatives.

3dly An Abolition of 40s. Freeholds.

4thly A Right of Suffrage to Lessees for a long Term of Years. And,

5thly A Limitation of the Duration of Parliament to three Years.

I now proceed to the second Head, Protecting Duties; and, in examining this Subject, shall take Occasion to Notice those other Considerations with which it is connected. We may lay it down as an Axiom whose Truth is self-evident, that, without an internal, we can have no external Trade; to encourage the Former, is to promote the Latter, and Protecting Duties are so undeniably essential to this salutary Purpose that we cannot suppose our Legislature will hesitate to adopt them; nor does it even require the Aid of Argument to illustrate their Utility; whoever will take the Trouble of drawing a Comparison between the Circumstances of this Country and those of England will find it obvious to the meanest Capacity: Indeed it were much to be wished that the Opulence and Skill of our Manufacturers precluded the Necessity of such Remedies, those Qualifications afford the best Protection that trade can experience; but since neither our Endeavours or our Capitals are yet sufficiently advanced to enable us to cope with other Nations, they are at present absolutely necessary: Without such a Precaution, we should be deluged with Goods from foreign Markets at a cheaper Rate than we can ourselves af-

afford them, and of Course our poor Tradesmen remain unemployed: Emigration must be the Consequence, and we need not to be told, that when it becomes general, Ruin treads fast on its Heels. The extreme Poverty of the poor Manufacturers and Peasants of Ireland enables them to break with some Degree of Ease, that secret Tie that binds a Man to his native Land; and prompts them to seek in some more favourable Clime that Support which they are almost denied in their own; America allures the forlorn Wanderers, and the Rage of going there must encrease in Proportion to the Decay of Trade; one of the greatest Advantages of the Latter is the Population it promotes, and in that consists the true Riches and Strength of a Nation; of this the Republic of Holland affords a striking Instance; her barren Morasses have been changed by Commerce into a Land spangled with Cities, and swarming with People; take it away, and the variegated Scene would soon relapse into its original and solitary Deformity. This serves to convince us that Population will always encrease in the same Proportion with Trade; the Industry of the Husbandman furnishes Materials to the Artificer and Merchant; who, in return, give him those Commodities necessary to his Business, or essential to his Wants; and thus reciprocal Exchanges contribute to their mutual Advantage; Cultivation enamels the smiling Country, and the Ports, those busy Hives of Commerce, pour out their active Multitudes at her enticing call. It follows from these Observations that the Strength of the one depends on the Extent of the other; therefore the Revival of Trade includes the Advancement of Population; but amongst us, this has been declining fast for some Years; and without it, what will avail the Fertility

tility of our Plains, or the Conveniency of our Harbours? Without Population; our Tillage, which in many Parts of the Kingdom is scanty enough, would cease to supply internal Consumption; that already too frequently happens, witness those alarming Scarcities so often productive of Embargoes on this indispensable Article. If we trace the Cause of this Evil we shall find it in the unbounded Preference given to Feeding; a Branch which requires few Hands and little Attention is embraced with avidity: Indeed the Brute Species seems in too great a Degree to have supplanted the Human: We may behold whole Parishes, nay Baronies, almost converted into spacious Pastures; the Cottage is rarely seen which shelters the wretched Head of the indigent Herdsman. Should other Nations contrive to do without our staple Commodities, or supply themselves elsewhere, and perhaps the *Æra* is not far distant, what would become of the Western Provinces? what would then become of those haughty Landlords who, reclined at Ease in the Lap of Luxury, riot in the Capital on the Produce of toiling Industry? or what is far worse, revel in foreign Climes on the Riches extracted from the Vitals of their forsaken Country, but it is not those we feel for, we should then in vain lament the Loss of that hardy Race whom Neglect and Oppression banished from the lonely Soil; and exclaim with the elegant Goldsmith, in the Bitterness of our Hearts,

That a bold Peasantry, their Country's Pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.

If North America, as it is said, has found out the Art of effectually curing her Beef and Pork, and really I do not see why there should be a Difficulty in the Matter, her innumerable Savannahs will supply the West Indies, which is one of our chief Marts for these Articles: She will be able

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to afford them so cheap that, what with the Difference of Freight and Insurance Competition will be vain. There is less Danger of her supplanting us in the Butter Trade, the heat of her Summers will render the Quality as inferior, as the Coldness of her Winters the Quantity inconsiderable: Yet this Branch is so intimately connected with the Former, that it must inevitably suffer in Proportion; if the Strippers, and Cows which we call Frenches, bring no Price, the Loss will hang so heavy on the Manufacture of Butter, that the Trade will be scarce worth pursuing; and would never enable the Tenantry to pay the heavy Rents at which Grounds are now rated; there must be consequently a precipitate Fall in their Value, and of Course an equal Diminution of national Wealth. Alarmed at this Prospect, we should exert ourselves with redoubled Vigour in extending every other Branch of Trade within our Power, in order to guard against, and supply the Lapse of this: Commerce in its Infancy, like the human Frame, requires the utmost Attention to bring it to Maturity; free in its Nature as the Air we breathe, it flies the contagious Damp of Oppression, and only thrives when nursed in the genial Bosom of Liberty: It bears with Impatience even salutary Restraint; and this universal and sensitive Exotic while it diffuses over the World its wide extended Shade, yet withers and shrinks at the unhallowed Touch of rapacious Finance. We have acquired a Freedom of Trade it's true, but is it real or only nominal? or what Advantages do we derive from the important Concession? I fear we are like froward Children, who, not to be soothed to Rest without a Rattle, are presented with one of base Metal instead of Silver. Though we have gained the Privilege of importing directly the

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produce of foreign Markets, yet it is clogged at home with such heavy Duties as nearly amount to a prohibition; and the Benefits we ought to expect from this high sounding Title are in danger of being Equalized into nothing: Of what consequence is it to us whether the Duties be levied here or in England, if their Weight be equally intolerable, if we are obliged to pay extravagantly for every thing we import, while our Exports are at the most reduced Prices, as was the Case this Season, the Article of Butter excepted, we must be Beggars in the end; and we may as well surrender our Purfes to the Disposal of an English Ministry, as to our own corrupt and heedless Representatives: All we have left is the barren comfort of being ruined by ourselves, would our Parliament but reflect that England, from its Capital, its Skill, and long Possession of Manufacture, is able, in spite of our utmost Endeavours, to undersell us in every Part of the World, and consequently Monopolize from us its Commerce; they would not surely have cramped our Infant Trade with Burthens, they will find it much easier to Impose than take off: But 'tis our fate, like that of every other Nation, immersed in luxury, to set the Seal to our ruin, and much I fear our political Death will be that of Suicide.

FAR be it from me to aim at sowing the seeds of Discontent in the Bosom of my Country; but that Impartiality which I have laid down as my rule of Conduct in this little Essay, obliges me to adhere with an honest Freedom to those dictates of Truth, however unpalatable, which can alone add Dignity to Sentiment, and Energy to philosophical Diquisition: Neither have I any Idea of derogating from the importance of the Obligation we owe to England, whether it resulted from
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the voluntary impulse of Generosity, or the unwilling concession of reluctant Bounty, is a question no way material now: That the former was the presiding Sentiment of the best and most enlightened of the People, I have not the least Doubt; that the latter was the operating Principle with the commercial Part, admits of some degree of Probability; to all we must allow the Merit of foregoing that oppressive authority, which they certainly had the Power to support, though it would have been too dearly purchased by the Consequences of enforcing it. But Covetousness, the Attendant and evil Genius of Commerce, like the Serpent at the Ear of Eve, is ever ready to instil its Poisons; its malignant Suggestions may cross the Water, and warp the Integrity of our Senate; the pernicious subtlety of Art may Effect what the stern resolve of Force might fear to execute, this is the Danger we should guard against; let us be Generous, but let that Generosity be directed by Prudence and proportioned to our Ability; and let us not like the spendthrift Minor, waste our Estate before we come to it: So shall we, when the Hour of Necessity arrives, be able to repay in a tenfold Proportion, that provident Lenity which in the Wealth of the People, beholds that of the State, a much surer and more solvent Bank than the fluctuating Supplies of a rapacious Treasury, fed by Oppression, and extorted from Distress. Like the precious Balm which distils from the Tree of Mecca, Trade will voluntarily afford her inexhaustible Riches; but wound its Substance, and though, like that, it will yield for a while a more plentiful Encrease, yet it will expire under the Operation.

3d Head, an Absentee Tax. It seems to be a Maxim coeval with Society, that in return for the

Protection it affords Individuals, they should exert their particular Abilities in its Service: It is this reciprocal Interchange of good Offices that gives Vigour to a State: If my Person and Property are protected by its Laws from Injury and Oppression, it follows that I have a Right, as Circumstances permit, to contribute by either to the general Welfare; and Self-interest obliges me to guard with attentive Care this important Source of my political Happiness: If my Situation disables me from serving the Community with my Person, I have consequently a Right to be more liberal of my Purse; for the former exceeds the latter in Value by as much as the Consideration of Life transcends that of Property. The Conclusion to be inferred, is this, that if I withdraw my Person from my Country, I have undoubtedly a Right to contribute a larger Share of my Property to its Use, than he who dedicates both to its Service; therefore an Absentee Tax is both agreeable to the Principles of Society, and the strict Rules of Justice. To pursue the Argument farther, the Resident, whatever his Station in Life, is nevertheless useful to his Country; he contributes to its Population, both in his Person, and by that Portion of its Manufactures which he consumes, and which, however trifling, becomes material when taken into the general Account; and this is no contemptible Advantage: But the Absentee who spends in a foreign Land the Income he derives from his own, becomes not only a dead and useless Weight, but injurious in Proportion to the Wealth he deprives it of: The Money of the Resident, however injudiciously disposed, circulates in its Bosom, and falls at length into Hands that apply it to useful Purposes: But Absentees (who, to make the Matter worse, are generally Per-

Persons of the amplest Fortunes,) nourish other Countries at the Expence of their own, and the Stream they divert from it never waters the Soil it springs from. Perhaps from the intimate Connexion between this Nation and the British, the Idea of taxing the Owners of Irish Estates resident there, may appear ungenerous in her Eyes; but this injurious thought will fall to the Ground when it is considered that, from the infant State of our Circumstances, we are obliged in Prudence to adopt every constitutional Mode of advancing our Prosperity, an Event in reality far more material to her than any Advantage she can derive from the Residence of our Prodigal Sons; and which, when Occasion requires, will enable us to afford her an Assistance that would make ample Amends for any Concession she can possibly make in our Favour; and indeed I do not see where else she can now look for the sympathetic Feelings of cordial Friendship.

BUT, say the Opposers of this Bill, you know not what you ask; you know not that a Wasp lies concealed in the Bosom of this Flower you are so eager to pluck; and that a general Land Tax will be the undoubted Consequence: But is an Evil to pass unremedied, because a greater one may possibly be grafted on Redress? If this Principle be authenticated, there is an end to Reformation; nor is there in the wide Range of Finance a single Tax that may not be followed up by a greater; but is that an Argument either of the Expediency or Necessity of such a Climax? or a Cause for inducing the Assent of the People? Who impose Taxes but ourselves, through our Representatives? and if in the Delirium of Corruption they consent to the most absurd Oppressions, who are we to blame? or how can we hinder them from any other Act of Madness no more than

than this? Are we under that Idea to decline a salutary Measure, and refine away the Good of the State? Is the Dread of future Evil to absorb every Consideration of present Utility? if so, we reduce ourselves without Reason, to the Situation of the Philosopher Damocles, trembling beneath the impending terrors of the Hair-suspended Sword: Imagination may cause the State Budget to teem with the most destructive Weapons, but can they pierce the Bosom of our Country, if Parricide like, we do not lend our unhallowed Hands to urge the Blow? Look round the moral World, and see whether there be any Good which is not shadowed by an opposite Evil; but is that to set the Seal of Necessity to the Neglect of Virtue? Or are we obliged, like the unwary Birds allured by the fascinating Charms of the fabled Basilisk, to shun a Danger by running into its Mouth? Or consent to a Land Tax because we fear it?

THESE Observations, it's to be hoped, are sufficient to evince the Propriety of this Tax: Let us now examine the last Object of Investigation, the Stamp Act; the Absurdity of this Tax is so evident from Experience, that little Argument is necessary to ascertain its Impropriety: If it be allowed to be unproductive, why, in the Name of common Sense, persevere in a Measure which burthens the People without enriching the Treasury? Is it because Government is apprehensive of the Precedent, should it relinquish a Duty it has once got Possession of? Or that it is convenient for gratifying a Set of Ministerial Tools with the Wages of Corruption at the Expence of bleeding Honesty? For the latter in reality pays a great Proportion of this execrable Tax: Was it confined to Places of Honour and Profit, it would have been both a proper and a just one; but surely the Law was already sufficiently expensive

penfive without laying this additional Prohibition on Juftice. But perhaps our Sight is unequal to the Majefty of her Countenance, it muft be therefore clouded by a Veil of *Parchment*; and, like Eastern Monarchs, ſhe will be ſhortly only viſible to the Aristocratic Eye. Perhaps our wiſe Legislators, who are poſſeſſed of the largeſt Properties, ſaw that it would be advantageous to the State to diſable little People from contending with their Superiors, and therefore framed this Law that Juſtice might be fought for by none but thoſe who are rich enough to—deſerve it.

BUT to be ſerious, the Diſtribution of Juſtice is attended with a weight of Expence that is at once aſtoniſhing and alarming; and when we reflect on the freedom and excellence of our Conſtitution, we cannot avoid being ſurprized that an Evil of ſuch Magnitude could grow in its Boſom: We are all alive to the delicate Feelings of Liberty, and our Minds revolt at the Idea of having its Rights infringed by others; yet (ſuch is the unaccountable Nature of Man) are at the ſame Time, in Love with Chains of our own forging; and this intollerable Grievance which expoſes both the Perſon and Subſtance of honeſt Mediocrity to the rapacious Encroachments of unprincipled Wealth, is beheld with the moſt ſtoical Apathy and Indifference. Thrice hail judicious Frederick! 'twas thine to curtail this many headed Monſter which fed its voracious Mouths on the Vitals of thy People: 'twas thine, amidſt the numerous Glories of thy Reign, to add this additional Branch to thy laurelled Crown: May ſome able Legislator ariſe to copy, in our Iſland, the bright Example, who, unmoved by Prejudice, and inflexible to the intereſted ſuggeſtions of ſelfiſh Men, will no longer ſuffer a Revenue to be levied on the Tears of Diſtreſs; or the ſacred
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Name of Justice to be rendered subservient to the Tyranny of Individuals over the suffering Community; and who shall once more make her accessible to the timid Approach of oppressed Poverty, Or if Heaven vouchsafes us not the Blessing in this way; may some greedy Minister of Finance arise; who, by multiplying Stamp Acts and Law Fees, shall so load its Edifice, that unable to bear the accumulated Weight, it shall at length tumble to the Earth, and bury beneath its Ruins the odious Oppression: So shall a new and correct Copy arise, like a Phoenix from its Ashes, divested of Superfluity, purged from Extortion, and beaming with that unspotted Splendor with which Heaven designed it to illumine Mankind.

HAVING concluded my Remarks on these different Subjects, I shall sum up all by observing, that when a multiplication of Taxes oppress a State, its Prosperity decreases like the Health of a consumptive Body; they retard the progress of Manufacture by enhancing the price of its Materials, and consequently obstruct the Activity of Commerce, and the increase of Population, which are its Riches, and the Sinews of its Strength: The heavy Expence of Law extends its baleful Influence in this Line also; the Artist and the Trader whose Occupations leave them nothing to spare for superfluous Expence, frequently behold the unremitting Toil of Years swallowed up in its greedy Vortex; and find themselves ruined even by the Justice of their Claims, or to take the Evil in its lighter Sense; are often necessitated to forego their equitable Demands, because they are fenced from Recovery by an insurmountable Rampart of Law Proceedings, and thus the sphere of Industry is narrowed and contracted; so that in reality Justice has induced the heaviest Tax beneath
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which the Nation groans, and the Wealth of Industry, which ought to circulate in safety in the laborious Hands of that provident Maid, is often torn from her fostering Arms to feed learned Idleness and pompous Luxury; and the disconsolate Mourner left to embrace the shadow of her departed Right, sitting on a Pile of Pleadings, in some Measure happy, if Despondency does not induce her, like the Females of Indostan, to consume herself therein. To relieve the People from unnecessary Burthens is the great and ultimate Object of Reformation, (may the last, one Day, obtain a Share of its Notice.) It is natural for them to wish for a Representation, whose delegated Trust may be executed with Integrity, and whose Power may be restrained from Exertions inconsistent with their Welfare, or inimical to their Liberty: The Fallibility of human Nature justifies the expectation; why should erring Man be vested with Authority independent of the Controul of those who clothed him with the Rays of their own Greatness in order to speak their Wishes, and extend their Happiness? or why should the Depravity of the Heart, or the errors of the Head be permitted to give Permanency to any Measure which squares not with that important end? On these principles, the reason and propriety of Reformation become irresistably true; and that State wherein the Accomplishment of it can be effected, without Passion or Prejudice, will be truly great, and a glorious Pattern for Imitation to the rest of Mankind.

It now only remains to be considered how far this *Ne plus ultra* of our Wishes is likely to be attained: From the Complexion of the Times, we may venture to pronounce that a partial Reformation will probably take place: The popular Torrent runs with so rapid and lively a course,

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that some Streams, at least, must force their way through the Mound of Corruption, to water the parched Bosom of the Constitution: But a perfect Model will not be the Offspring of the present Day: The Minds of Men are not yet attuned to political Purity; and in Virtue, as in Vice, they require some time to become Proficients. To counteract and reform the interested Passions of venal Men—to guide public Virtue in the Race of Glory—to restrain the generous Exuberance of Patriotic Fervour by the gentle Reins of Moderation and Wisdom, requires the plastic Hand of a superior Genius, in whom shall be concentrated the Force of Power, the Inflexibility of Virtue, and the strenuous Exertion of uncommon Abilities. Though Ireland is now adorned with an Imperial Crown, yet, from the intimate Connexion between them, the British Cabinet will still continue, in some Degree, to influence her Councils, and advance or retard any Measures the Spirit of Freedom and of Prudence may suggest: Fortunately for her, that is now guided by a Statesman who realizes the above Description; and who, to all the Fire and Vivacity of Youth, unites the Wisdom and Experience of ripened Years: In Mr. Pitt we find that sublimity of Genius which so seldom appears to dignify the Annals of the human Mind: At an Age when others are only labouring up the steep Ascents of Political Perfection, the astonished Eye beholds him at once exalted on the arduous Summit; and leading, with all the success of conscious superiority, even Veterans grown Grey in the Arts of Government: Britannia's Genius views, with anxious Joy, the shining Abilities of the Noble Father blaze forth with redoubled Lustre in the accomplished Son: That ever honoured Name (whose auspicious Influence caused every Clime

to witness the Triumphs of her Fleets and Armies,) again arises to defend her sacred Rights, and reanimate her fading Glory: Firm and immoveable amidst the tempestuous Billows of Faction, like a Rock amidst the Waves of the raging Deep, the Weight of his extraordinary Talents overpowers the Voice of Clamour: And even his very *silence* has something in it expressive of that superior Greatness of Soul which can look down unmoved on all the littlenesses of Party Rage, and rancour of disappointed Ambition; and pursue, with unconquerable Perseverance, those Measures only which are agreeable to the principles of the Constitution, and the Welfare of the People: Whilst such a Man presides o'er the Helm of State, we may expect to see Probity and Honour direct its Movements; honest Reformation at length triumph over Venality and Corruption; and Virtue, like a Glory surround the British Empire.

F I N I S.